

could not be by a similar perseverance succeed in establishing a good one! And at this moment, when we have not one sensible and well informed man in the country, whether Whig or Democrat, who believes in the wisdom or practicability of the law as it now stands, we are all submitting to it, and the Whig party seem afraid to throttle the monster and to crush its enormities. But something more of this Sub-treasury hereafter.

"Let us take up these measures for which we have contended for twenty years, one by one, and see if any good reason exists for abandoning them. If upon fair trial they shall have proved to be injurious to the public good, let them go; but surely no sane man can be convinced of their injurious tendency because we cannot always retain the power of the Government in our own hands, and I might here remark that if the people are supposed to have decided against them in 1844 and 1852, they are surely decided in their favor in 1840 and 1848, and are most likely to do so again in 1856.

"How is it with the question of protection to home labor? Has that great principle become obsolete? Are we ready to give it up? Is free trade indeed in the ascending? The tariff of 1846, I grant you, has taken the place of the tariff of 1842; but then is the tariff of 1846 a free trade tariff? Does not every body of good sense know that any tariff that raises in its duties from ten and fifteen to forty and fifty per cent, and upwards is a discriminating tariff, and does not every body know that discrimination is a recognition of the principle of protection? The question is, is it a judicious discrimination, and does it protect where protection is most needed? But discrimination in itself recognizes the principle, and in any alteration that may be made of the present tariff the party in power will not fail to adopt that principle. You may call things by what names you choose, but the tariff of 1846, Mr. Chairman, is no more a free trade tariff than my State is a free State; but, at the same time, I do not agree that it judiciously discriminates or affords proper protection to such articles as most need it. I mean such articles as we can supply at home and must consume.

"It may become, perhaps it has become, necessary that the tariff should be revised and modified, if only to diminish the superabundant revenue that is accumulating in the public treasury, and it may be found indispensable to diminish the duties on some articles and equally indispensable to increase them on others; but you will find that under no circumstances will any party in this country venture upon an equal rate of duties on all articles that we import. They must and will discriminate, and so discriminate as to give protection to certain interests; and, if I am right in this, let us, instead of surrendering this principle, maintain that we have established the wisdom of the system, and claim the credit for our party that its sagacity and wisdom has entitled it to receive at the hands of our opponents.

"But let us see how their tariff of 1846 has operated practically. That it has furnished a sufficient amount of revenue cannot be questioned; but at what cost it has done so remains to be seen. We all know how common it is for public men of the Democratic party (they have usurped that name, and in it consists their only strength) to claim infinite credit for the acquisition of California, which, with its untold millions of gold, they say has saved such a commercial crisis as has been heretofore unknown to our people. Well, admit that to be so. What I desire they should next tell us is, what would have produced this crisis, and then what resort would have been necessary had not the golden sands of California so opportunely come to avert the calamity and distress which would have befallen us? I will tell you. First, it was the vicious (or perhaps it would be more appropriate to say unsound) system of legislation by which our people were induced to encourage European workshops and European labor, to the exclusion of American workshops and American labor, that would have brought on the crisis; precisely the same causes that produced the revolution of 1837. And in the next place, to have remedied the evil it would have been necessary to resort to a different system, by which we should have fostered encouragement and protection to the labor of our own people on earth. As it is, that mighty influx of gold that has been spent among our own people at home has followed on in the regular channels of trade, and is now to be found in the workshops of Europe. Now, in my judgment, he is the wisest man and the most reliable statesman who recommends such a system of legislation as would enable the industry of the country to protect itself at all times and under all circumstances, and that would render the country absolutely independent in every sense of the word. Suppose a general war should break out in Europe, in which the four chief Powers should be engaged, which I have not only looked upon for some months as extremely probable, but as almost certain, notwithstanding the opposite views that have prevailed in this country as well as in France and England, for I have not been able to see why the Emperor Nicholas should relinquish the advantages he has already obtained (by the temporary course of France and England, each of whom have frittered away their time in idle negotiations, while he has been preparing for war) towards the accomplishment of an object that has constituted the chief anxiety of Russia from the days of Peter the Great down to the present time, to wit: the possession of Constantinople. I say, suppose such a war should come, what would be the consequence to us? The low rate of duties, as I have said, has induced our countrymen to go abroad to purchase many, very many articles which we were able to furnish, and which have manufactured at home, and by that process have become largely indebted to Great Britain.

"The British Government is sustained by its moneyed aristocracy; they must have money to carry on the war; the Baring and the Rothschild will have the control of the entire debt, in all amounting to some four or five hundred millions, and will call it in as fast as it becomes due; and then is the time that the shoe will begin to pinch; then will be the time that we shall discover the beauties and advantages of excessive importations super-induced by low duties; and, with or without war, pay-day must and will come, sooner or later; and when it does arrive, then we shall see the workings of what many are now pleased to call the free trade system."

"I have no difficulty, Mr. Chairman, in solving a question which has puzzled the brains of thousands; to wit: the universal and anxious inquiry, Why is it that the foreigners all 'last out' it, it is the charm con-

veyed to their senses by the sound of Democracy; they give to the term its true significance; they know of no other democracy than that which is to be found in antagonism to aristocracy, or to despotism and the power of the sovereign. There is no other democracy than that which is to be found in the power of the people; and they naturally believe when they come among us that democracy on this side of the water means what they understand by democracy at home. Nothing is more natural that they should identify themselves with those whom they suppose are struggling to maintain the rights and the power of the people of which they themselves compose a part; it is not because they are opposed to us or our principles, but because they do not understand the nature of the questions that divide us; and when they have been here long enough to ascertain that truth, like other men, pride of opinion, pride of consistency, and old habits and associations bind them down to the party with which they have been accustomed to deal."

"The Democracy claim to be the progressive party, and seek to disseminate the impression that we are the 'stand still party,' or, as some call it, the 'do-nothing party.' Surely the internal improvement party is not the stand-still party, the party that is for building up manufactures, of every sort, of encouraging the mechanic arts, of giving employment to all, and taking care of all, is not the stand-still party; it is they who oppose this system, they who will not progress; they are the party to whom that cognomen should be applied.

"But there are two kinds of progress through life—the one rational, the other destructive. When I read an account of some dashing, high-spirited young fellow, whose horse has run away with him, and dashed his vehicle to pieces and nearly broken his neck, I cannot but regard it as progress; but it is something of Democratic progress, rather of the destructive order. How much better it would have been to have kept the reins in hand and the horse in subjection. Sometimes we read of a steamboat that is in such haste to make rapid progress through the water that she gets up too much steam, and away goes boat, cargo, crew, and passengers in the air. This is certainly making rapid progress, but not of the rational kind: it smacks of Democratic progress; it is a species of Democratic progress, go-ahead, cleverness. It was the same spirit of headlong Democratic progress that precipitated the New Haven cars into the North river, with such terrible and calamitous results. So it will be, I fear, with Democratic progress in affairs of Government, when we undertake the only progress they propose, which is to neglect our own affairs, disregard our own interests, and go roaming over the world, in imitation of ancient Rome, plundering our neighbors of their lawful property, and in imitation of Don Quixote, righting the wrongs of all mankind. I would rather have a rational, conservative driver, who would control his horse; a rational, conservative fireman, who would not put on too much steam; and a rational, conservative engineer, who would control his locomotive, and travel with less speed and more safety; so, in like manner, would prefer a sound, safe, rational conservative Whig at the helm of Government, who would attend to our business at home, progressing rapidly, but steadily and safely; extending our commerce, increasing our agriculture, enlarging our manufactures, and securing peace, plenty, independence, and happiness to all our people; and if we do not have such an engineer to guide our great national locomotive, who can tell what catastrophe may not sooner or later overtake and overwhelm us?

"Sir, there is an old Latin maxim that is full of meaning and good sense: 'Confrimatum, qui tollit absumit'; he confirms the user who destroys the abuse. We strengthen and aid progress by restraining its abuse; and upon this principle I hope to see the conservative Whig party always act. Let individual citizens, in the exercise of their personal rights, (taking care not to infringe the laws of their country) do as they like, on their own responsibility; but let the Government take care at all times, and under all circumstances, to watch with the most jealous vigilance the faith and integrity of the nation; let them guard it as they would 'the apple of their eye.'"

"Mr. Chairman, I am often asked why I am a Whig? My answer is, because I am a Democrat; because I believe there is more sound Democracy in the Whig ranks than in the ranks of the other party, and because I go for the principle, and not the name or the sound of Democracy. How could I be anything else but a Democrat? Losing both father and mother when I was but a child nine years old, (by the burning of the theatre in Richmond), I was soon after sent off to a boarding school, and from that day to this have been mixed up with the people, sympathizing in all their wrongs, commending throughout my manhood for all their rights, and struggling for their political equality, despising at all times everything that savored of aristocracy and pride, whether of birth or fortune, ready to resist oppression whenever and wherever I met it. Brought up in the midst of the people and one of themselves, how could I be, in my nature, habits, associations, and sympathies any thing but a Democrat? And yet, suppose I should desire from any cause to associate myself with the Democratic party, what are the tests by which I would be tried? To what doctrines or principles would I have to subscribe to gain an admittance into their ranks and fellowship with them? They surely could not reject me on the ground that I was in favor of the principle of protection, for that would have excluded Mr. Jefferson and General Jackson from the Democratic party, as it would now exclude many thousands of their present friends, including Mr. Buchanan, who, with Silas Wright, voted for the tariff of 1842, and without whose votes it could never have become a law; it could not be, on the ground that I was in favor of internal improvements, for that would have excluded Gen. Cass and many of the prominent Northern and Western men of the Democracy; and it was not the other day that here in this very hall two members of Mr. Pierce's Democratic Cabinet made speeches in favor of the Pacific Railroad as a Government measure. What, then, would be the test? Why this and this only: If I could consent to vote for the Democratic nominee, and thus secure to them the spoils of office, I should be considered as good a Democrat as the best of them."

We have just received the first number of a new paper issued at Indianapolis, called *Chapman's Chronicle*. The principle editor is J. P. CHAPMAN, who, from 1841 to 1850, was the editor of the *Indiana State Sentinel*, a regular Locofoco paper, and the organ of that party in that State. In his salutory,

CHAPMAN says he has been quite so much hampered when compelled to be a partisan, but he is such no longer. The *Chronicle* is to be "independent," but if we can understand it, we think it is started to take ground, as the mouthpiece of the thinking, intelligent men of the old Locofoco party, against the present administration. If we are correct, it is an important movement.—*Ohio State Journal*.

CHRONICLE & ADVOCATE.
B. R. COWEN, Editor.
THE PEOPLE, AND THEIR RIGHTS.
Friday Morning, Dec. 8, 1855.
To Correspondents.
Communications must be handed in before 10 o'clock on Wednesday morning.

THE PRESIDENT'S MESSAGE.
We last week laid this document before our readers at the earliest possible moment. So soon that we had no time for comment had we felt in the mood.

It is a quiet, adroit, non-committal paper, neither strongly defining his position on any particular question at issue, nor marking out any new features of policy of any great importance. He advances nothing particularly provocative of comment on any topic. He goes round and round the Pacific Rail Road question, and never gets up right face to face with it. On the question of the tariff he shows pretty conclusively the advantages of a discriminating, protective tariff, which principle will not be new to our stomachs old Whigs of '42.

On the whole the message is just about what might have been expected from the man. In the whole course of the document one cannot help being struck with the evidence manifested of endeavoring to conciliate, and harmonize separate factions. No frank openness in any part, and he seems to have made use of language for the purpose of concealing his own settled connections—often resorted to by Statesmen. If he wrote with the intention of steering clear of critical comment he has succeeded most admirably, for it is too weak and shadowy like to be grasped by any mind.

The *Philadelphia Bulletin*, a semi-Democratic paper says of it:
First as to its style. This is a weak imitation of Gibbon; the resemblance consisting merely in certain turns of expression, without a particle of Gibbon's wisdom or thought. Quite one third, if not more, of the words might be struck out, without altering the sense. A Webster would, indeed, have written out the entire ideas in one fourth the space, that is if a Webster could have possibly beaten out ideas into such intellectual untidiness.

Next as to the matter. This is thought infinitely diluted as we have said. In justice to the President it must be conceded, that when he makes up his mind to speak like a man, he can think far more clearly as well as express himself more tersely. But in this message he has studiously endeavored to avoid committing himself. Like Talleyrand, he seems to believe that language was made to conceal thought. He consequently drenches us with words. He balances affirmatives and negatives as dexterously as a Chinese juggler poises a straw upon his nose. He winks at the compromise, and then winks in turn at the secessionists. He is "everything to every body."

State Board of Agriculture.
The Ohio State Agricultural Society held its 8th Annual meeting in Columbus on the 7th inst.

As the probabilities are, that under the new order of letting out the printing it will be a twelve month before the proceedings will be published we will give a summary of the proceedings we find in the *Journal*.

Sixty one counties were represented at the meeting of organizing. Col. S. Medary, Pres., & J. G. Galt & W. W. Mather, Secretaries. Mr. Brush, of Franklin, offered a Resolution requesting the Board to offer premiums for the best practical treatise on the cultivation of the soil of the State. Mr. McGraw, of Montgomery, offered an amendment making the resolution apply to the cultivation of staple products of the State. Referred to a committee, which reported favorably. Report adopted.

They passed a resolution giving the County Societies entire control of regulating in relation to who shall compete for premiums in their respective Fairs.

A resolution was offered that the State Board memorialize the Legislature to collate the laws on Agriculture, and create a permanent officer to be called a Commissioner of Agriculture. Referred to a committee, which struck out the clause in reference to a commissioner, and reported it back, favorably.

Prof. Mather offered a resolution instructing the State Board to memorialize Congress for a donation of 200,000 acres of the public domain for the purpose of endowing an Agricultural college in each State of the Union. Adopted.

A resolution was passed asking the Board to take steps to establish an agricultural Library and museum in the city of Columbus. Messrs. Jas. L. Cox, of Muskingum, R. W. Musgrave, of Crawford, Jno. K. Green, of Hamilton, Joseph Sullivan of Franklin, and R. Siedman, of Cuyahoga, were elected members of the Board for the ensuing term.

Some very pertinent remarks in reference to the loose manner in which the printing contracts were fulfilled, were offered by Mr. Galt. He denounced the lowest bidder system as a humbug, that the people were annually losing money by it, and that we can never get promptness and efficiency until we go back to the old system, and give the mark to a competent, responsible establishment.

A resolution was offered asking the Board to offer a premium for the best hedges in Ohio. Adopted.

In the financial department the account current stands as follows:
Plate on hand \$1,395 00
Other property of the Board 1,400 00
Cash on hand 5,434 48
Promissory note 300 00
Assets \$8,529 48
Estimated receipts from State Treasury for the year 1855 4,500 00
Whole amount of funds \$13,029 48
Receipts at Dayton \$14,000 00
At gates, for tickets and badges \$14,000 00
Sales of lumber 5,054 14
Dayton subscription 3,000 00
Sale of privilege of selling refreshments within State Fair grounds 300 00
Whole amount \$23,354 14
Expenses of State Fair, exclusive of premiums 15,359 85
Excess of receipts over expenditures \$8,994 29
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He also read a paper on flax and flax fibre. Both of these latter documents, together with a vast amount of other matter, statistical, &c. will, no doubt be published in the proceedings of the Board; though how soon that will be, I can't say.

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